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REPORT

TO THE

SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

OF

A VISIT TO AMERICA,

BY THEIR APPOINTMENT,

IN REFERENCE TO THE

FUND UNDER THEIR CHARGE FOR THE EDUCATION OF NATIVE INDIANS.

BY

JOHN TAWSE, ADVOCATE, SECRETARY—AND
GEORGE LYON, W.S. AGENT OF THE SOCIETY.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION BY THE DIRECTORS.

EDINBURGH—PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY;
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M.DCCC.XXXIX.

ROUTE
of the
DEPUTATION
To America
— 1839. —
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EXTRACT from the Minutes of a General Meeting of the SOCIETY *in* SCOTLAND *for* PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, *held within their Hall, at Edinburgh, on Thursday the 7th of November* 1839.

"THE General Meeting are particularly gratified with the Report of the Deputation to America, and concurring unanimously in the sentiments stated by the Directors, in transmitting that Report, they hereby record their warmest thanks to Mr Tawse and Mr Lyon, for their kindness in complying with the wishes of the Directors in visiting America, and for the able and satisfactory manner in which they have discharged the important duty entrusted to them, and the valuable information which they have furnished. They remit that Report to the Directors to take such steps thereon as to them may seem proper in reference to the particular fund referred to, and direct that the Report itself, with a sketch of the route of the Deputation, and an Introduction by the Directors, containing a general history of the fund, be printed and circulated among the Members of the Society with as little delay as possible."

Extracted from the records of the Society, by

JAMES HOWDEN, *Clerk.*

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH an account has been given in former Reports of the origin and history of the Fund, for educating Native American Indians, in the hands of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, it may be proper here to give a brief outline of these, in order to explain the causes which occasioned a deputation being sent to America, and to render more intelligible the subjoined Report, which the deputation have now made.

Previously to the year 1760, Dr Eleazar Wheelock, an eminent divine at Lebanon in Connecticut, deeply impressed with the ignorant state of the Indian tribes in his neighbourhood, established a School for the purpose of educating and Christianizing them, and bringing them to the knowledge of civilized life. The success which attended his first attempts was such as to encourage him to proceed, but being unable, at his own expense, to enlarge the sphere of his operations, he appealed to the public for assistance, and besides the aid which he received in America, he, in 1766, sent Dr Whittaker, and Mr Occum, (an Indian preacher,) to Great Britain to solicit donations. In

England they raised about L.7000. When they came to Scotland, they applied to the General Assembly, but not being successful there, they, in June 1767, presented a memorial to this Society, whose minutes of that date bear, "That the proposed plan merited their countenance and support—that the memorial should be printed and transmitted to all the ministers in Scotland, entreating that they would take the most proper method to obtain contributions in their respective parishes, and that the money so collected should be paid to the treasurer of the Society, and the same disposed of at the sight and by the directions of the Society." In consequence of this recommendation, a sum of about L.2000 was raised, which still remains in the hands of the Society, with a considerable accumulation of interest arising during those years in which no remittances were made to America.

From that time the Society have been careful, as far as in their power, that the interest of this fund should not be applied to any other purpose than the maintaining and educating native Indian youths, at the School established by Dr Wheelock, which was afterwards called Moore's Indian School, in honour of one of its first and principal benefactors. The liberality of the contributions, and the countenance which Dr Wheelock had received, encouraged him afterwards to extend his plan, and, in addition to the School, to establish a College. Not being able, however, to get a sufficient quantity of ground at Lebanon for this purpose, he acquired that portion of land in New Hampshire, on which the town of Hanover now stands, where, in 1769, he erected the College, now

called Dartmouth College, as well as the School, for both of which a Charter of Incorporation was afterwards obtained. The Society were anxious that the funds, under their care, appropriated for that School, should not be merged in those of the College, nor their right of administering them interfered with; and, on inquiry, they were happy to find that this was sufficiently provided for in the Charter.

From 1775 to 1783 all communication between the two countries was interrupted by the war. In 1783, the correspondence was renewed, with reference particularly to the expense that had been incurred for educating Indians during the intervening period. The accounts, however, which had been transmitted were so unsatisfactory as to lead the Society to entertain a suspicion that their funds had been applied more generally to the purposes of the School and College, than exclusively to the education of Indians at the School. At length, in 1799, after a great deal of correspondence, accounts were finally settled up to that date; yet, in making the settlement, the Society distinctly intimated to Dr Wheelock, that no farther sum would be remitted unless the accounts rendered were confined to the expense incurred for the maintenance and education of Native Indians alone.

From the difficulty, even at that early period, of getting Indian youths to attend the School, and the uncertainty of the proper application of the fund, the Society, in 1793, took the opinion of the late Adam Rolland, Esq. advocate, as to their right, in the event of the failure of its original purposes, to apply it to some other objects. Mr Rolland was of opinion,

that, on this contingency occurring, the Society had such a right, but that it was necessary to ascertain the fact, and that this could best be done by sending out special commissioners from this country to investigate the whole matter. The Society did not then follow out the advice which they had received, either being alarmed at the expense of such a measure, or, very probably, from their not being able to get persons in whom they had confidence to undertake the duty. From 1793 to 1797, the subject of Moore's School occupied a great deal of the attention of the Directors, and much correspondence took place with the Society's Board of Commissioners at Boston on the subject. It appeared that Indian youths had been only occasionally attending the School; and the Society again, in 1797, intimated that no farther remittance would be made "until the Society shall have satisfactory evidence laid before them, that the purposes of the institution are carried into effect by the education of youth for the instruction of the Indians." From that period to 1817 occasional remittances were made upon satisfactory evidence of their appropriate application being transmitted; but still the Society do not appear to have been satisfied, nor did they obtain all the information which they required. Four Indian youths afterwards received their education at Moore's School, one of whom is now a valuable missionary among his own tribe, and is particularly noticed in the following Report; but with this single exception, none of the beneficiaries of that period seem to have turned the education they received in it to any subsequent good account.

In 1826, President Tyler, in a letter to the Direc-

tors, suggested a plan by which the fund might be employed in a more beneficial manner than it theretofore had been ; but before the Society could acquiesce in that proposal, they felt that they required to have much more information than they had yet procured. That information was accordingly written for, but never was given. Dr Lord having succeeded Dr Tyler as President of Dartmouth College and Moore's School, a letter was, in 1833, received from him, stating fully his views with reference to the application of the Society's fund, viz. that there was then not only the greatest difficulty, and almost impracticability, from the altered state of the Indian tribes, in obtaining beneficiaries from them to the School, but that its previous history had shown, that no substantial good had resulted from the education given in it to Indian youths ; in consequence of which, he proposed, that the annual interest of the fund should be applied to the general educational purposes both of the College and the School, preferring Indian students when these could be obtained. In a Report by the Boston Board in the same year, they concurred as to the great hopelessness of any good resulting from the money being applied in the manner in which it had hitherto been done ; but they did not agree in Dr Lord's proposal for its future application ; but, on the contrary, recommended that it should be placed at the disposal of the American Board of Foreign Missions, to be appropriated by them for the special benefit of the Indians at those stations where missions were established.

The Directors, upon a Report of their Law Committee, were unanimously of opinion, that the Society had power, if no beneficiaries from the Indian tribes

could be obtained, to apply the fund to some other purpose, as nearly as possible approaching the original object. But before they could decide whether this object might really be considered as having failed, or, in that event, which of the above proposals should be adopted, they felt it necessary to obtain more full information than they as yet possessed. This led to a farther correspondence with Dr Lord and the Boston Board. In the meantime, it appeared that some Indian youths had been received into the School, and certain legal questions, in which its rights and interests were involved, having been decided in its favour, there was every prospect of its being established on a more firm footing than formerly. But Dr Lord continued of opinion that no good could result from the mode in which the fund had hitherto been applied, and suggested the propriety of getting Indian children, at a very early age, to be trained in families under the superintendence of the President, and afterwards, as their abilities and habits should indicate, to receive their education at the School; while a part of the proceeds of the Indian fund should still be applied to the support of more advanced beneficiaries in the School, and ultimately, perhaps, at the College. This, with an additional communication from the Boston Board, was remitted by the Directors to their Committee on American Affairs.

That Committee, in December 1838, reported, "That, notwithstanding all the anxious attention which they had given to the subject, they do not feel themselves yet able to come to any satisfactory conclusion on the matter. The subject is one attended with difficulty, and the information that has been received is by

no means satisfactory, and in many points contradictory."—"The Committee are of opinion, that it would now be proper to get the application of this fund definitely and finally fixed. But it is necessary, in the first place, to ascertain precisely the facts as to Moore's School, in reference to the application of this fund—the possibility or impossibility of getting native Indians to educate there, and whether the failure of this, hitherto, has originated in any defect in the School or the system of education conducted in it, or in the dispositions, habits, and manners of the Indians themselves; and if any further attempt to prosecute the original design was hopeless, in what way the fund could most beneficially be applied for the Christianizing of the Indians. Upon these and various other points, the Committee feel that it would be most desirable that correct information should be obtained, and that from some impartial source. How this is to be accomplished, the Committee are not able to report. At present it appears to them, that the only satisfactory way would be to send one or two Commissioners to visit the School, to have a conference both with Dr Lord and the Board at Boston, and collect upon the spot all the information that could be obtained, and make such arrangements as might be found expedient to secure in future the right and beneficial application of the fund. To the Committee it appears, that it is in this way alone the Society can come to any satisfactory decision in the matter, but they are not yet prepared to make any definite proposal to that effect. Although this plan would necessarily be attended with great expense, yet the Committee would not be deterred by

that circumstance, as they consider that no part of the fund could be better employed, than in securing the right and beneficial application of it in future, and there are already of savings upon the interest more than sufficient for that purpose, without in any respect encroaching on the capital."

This Report was approved of by the Directors, who remitted the matter again to the Committee, to take such steps as they might find necessary.

The Committee were afterwards led to understand, that the Committee of the General Assembly on Colonial Churches had some intention of sending out a deputation to America, and the Committee thinking that through it their object might be obtained, remitted to Dr Dickson to inquire if such a deputation was to be sent; but he afterwards reported that the Assembly's Committee had no such intention. The Committee then prepared and gave in the following Report:

"The Committee having again maturely considered the remit made to them, and bearing in view the tenor and substance of the whole proceedings and correspondence that had taken place regarding this fund and school as contained in former Reports, are unanimously of opinion, that, however much the result of Dr Dickson's inquiry is to be regretted, it ought not to induce the Directors or the Society to abandon or delay the sending out a deputation of their own number this summer, in order to obtain all information possible respecting that school, for enabling them to come to a final decision as to the future application of the fund.

"After the detailed statement on the subject in former Reports, it is scarcely necessary for the Com-

mittee to repeat at any length the grounds on which they have come to this conclusion. At the same time, it may be right to mention, that this school, in so far as the funds in Scotland were concerned, was the subject of a long and not very satisfactory correspondence between Dr Eleazar Wheelock, its original founder, and the Society. After his death, it was continued with his son and successor, as President of Dartmouth College, Dr John Wheelock; but so unsatisfactory was that correspondence also, that the Society, in 1793, consulted the late Mr Adam Rolland, advocate, in regard to their power of applying the funds to other purposes, when he gave it as his decided opinion that the most satisfactory way of obtaining correct information concerning the matter would be by sending out a deputation from this country. That was deferred at the time, and has not yet been carried into effect. Since that period, however, the correspondence has been renewed at intervals, particularly in 1808, 1816, 1824, 1829, and 1833, but still with the same unsatisfactory result. More lately, Dr Codman, Secretary of the Corresponding Board at Boston, has written, suggesting that recourse should be had to such a deputation as Mr Rolland had advised so many years ago. In all these circumstances, the Committee conceive the Society have no choice left to them, after the failure of a correspondence carried on for not much less than seventy years, than to adopt the measure in question, that information may be got on the spot, by persons free from the local prejudices or partialities of the parties, with whom alone the correspondence could be conducted.

" The Committee are farther of opinion, that it is of peculiar importance that no unnecessary time should now be lost in sending out the deputation, as, in consequence of certain judgments pronounced by the Vermont Court, Moore's School is now placed on a more firm and permanent footing than formerly, and it is necessary for them to ascertain whether the continuance of the Scotch fund may be depended on, to be applied by Dr Lord, the present President of Dartmouth College, for the purpose of general education at the School and College, with a preference to Indian youths, when these can be procured, or whether it should be applied to some of the other purposes suggested by Dr Lord on the one hand, or the Boston Board on the other.

" While the Committee accordingly have no hesitation in most strongly, as well as unanimously, recommending that a deputation should be forthwith sent out, it became a matter of some difficulty to find persons suitably qualified, and in whom entire confidence may be placed, who might be willing to undertake an embassy of such importance, and which must necessarily require their absence from this country for a very considerable time. It gives them, however, sincere pleasure to say, that at their earnest and united request, the Secretary and Mr Lyon have consented to undertake the duty; and they are persuaded no individuals could have been selected to whom the conducting and management of the whole matters connected with the object of the deputation could be more safely and confidingly entrusted. Their official relation to the Society, and their thorough acquaintance, more

especially that of the Secretary, with its affairs at home, no less than with the special business committed to them, will give a weight to their influence, as well as an advantage to their communications, with the parties interested in the application of the fund for the school at Hanover, which scarcely any other officer or member of the Society could possess."

This Report was approved of by the Directors, and the measure being also approved of by the Society on 6th June last, the deputation set off very soon thereafter, and on their return have given in the subjoined Report.

in hardiness of constitution—swiftness of foot, and accuracy of eye—and that he is susceptible of hatred and friendship, of love and pity, that he can feel gratitude, and is prone to the adoration of the Great Spirit—that he possesses memory and imagination, and is susceptible of ambition, emulation, pride, vanity, and is sensitive to honour and disgrace. He then gives instances of these, and we quote the following as an example of the graphic description which he gives of one of the illustrations of his argument:

"For an instance of active piety—of deep, rational, and active piety—and the attendant intellectual faculties, I ask you to call to mind the story, surpassing romance, of Pacahontas, she who threw herself between a supposed inimical stranger and the deadly club which had been raised by the stern edict of her stern father. She begged for the victim's life—she obtained his deliverance from the jaws of death by appealing to the affections which existed in the bosom of her father, savage as he was, and which affections overcame the fell intent which had caused him to pronounce the White man's doom. From this time she received the instruction, imbibed the principles and sentiments, and adopted the manners and customs of the Whites. In her bosom burned purely and rationally the flame of love, in accordance with the promptings of which she offered herself at the hymeneal altar, to take the nuptial ties with a son of Christian England. The offspring of this marriage have been with pride claimed as sons and citizens of the noble and veteran State of Virginia.

"Ye who love prayer, hover in your imagination around the cot of Brown, and listen to the strong supplications as they arise from the fervent heart of Catharine, and tell me whether 'the poor Indian, whose untutored mind sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind,' is not capable, by cultivation, of rationally comprehending the true God, whose pavilion, though it be in the clouds, still giveth grace even to the humble."

He alludes to the progressive improvements of the Indians in their habits, morals, and industry, when they were

not distracted by the proposal of removal; and he then points out, in forcible terms, their right, if they are to be compelled to remove, to receive from the government a fair value for their lands, instead of the miserable pittance that had been offered. We have extended our quotations so far that we cannot quote that part of the Address, which, in point of reasoning, is most conclusive. But we cannot refrain from giving the concluding appeal, as evincing the Christian spirit of the speaker. It is as follows:—

"But I will relieve your patience by closing my remarks. It were perhaps needless, perhaps useless, for me to appear before you with these remarks, feebly and hastily prepared as they are; but, as I intimated in the outset, the crisis which has now arrived in the affairs of our people furnishes the apology and reason for my so doing. And now, I ask, what feature of our condition is there which should induce us to leave our present location, and seek another in the Western Wilds? Does justice, does humanity, does religion, in their relations to us demand it? Does the interest and well-being of the Whites require it? The plainest dictates of common sense and common honesty answer—No. I ask, then, in behalf of the New York Indians and myself, that our White brethren will not urge us to do that which justice, humanity, religion, not only do not require but condemn. I ask them to let us live on where our fathers have lived—let us enjoy the advantages which our location affords us, that thus we, who have been converted heathen, may be made meet for that inheritance which the Father hath promised to give to his Son, our Saviour, so that the deserts and wild places may be made to blossom like the rose, and the inhabitants thereof utter forth the high praises of our God."*

The extracts now given will afford the Directors the best criterion for judging of the character and attainments of this interesting young chief. We may mention, that, from our conversations with him, before we knew or heard any thing of the above Address, we were led to form the same favourable impressions

* The Address is given in the Appendix.

in regard to him, which the perusal of this Address, subsequently given to us, more than confirmed; and we have only farther to observe, that, while he received his education principally at Moore's School, he has been latterly prosecuting his studies at Dartmouth College, and that, to enable him to do so, he has been partly assisted from the fund under the charge of the Society.

With these living evidences before us of the benefit which has resulted from the education of young Indians at this school, and the religious instructions which they had there received—the prospect which it afforded of their usefulness in communicating these principles and impressions to their brethren when they returned to them,—and the no less interesting fact that Peter Osunkerhine, who had also received all his education there, was now labouring as an active and faithful missionary among the St Francis tribe, it was impossible for us to retain the impression which we formerly held, in common, we believe, with most of the Directors of the Society, that it was hopeless to expect any good to result from farther attempts at educating Indians at this place.

Nor are we singular in having changed our opinions in this respect. Dr Lord himself now entertains more favourable views in regard to the education of Indians at this school, than he had when he formerly communicated his sentiments to the Society. At that time, the school itself, from the litigation in which it had been involved, was almost suspended—the removal of the Indian tribes to the far distant west had commenced, and Dr Lord had not personally had an opportunity of visiting any of the tribes. Now, however, the school is established on a more firm footing than it was before,—Dr Lord, at the request, or, at all events, with the concurrence of the Society, has visited some of the tribes, for the purpose of ascertaining whether beneficiaries could be got from them, the result of which was, his procuring one at least of those interesting young men, and the two boys now under his charge—a new stimulus has been given, and brighter prospects have opened of the probable success of the measure.

In a letter from him, with which we were favoured before we left New York, in answer to certain queries we had left with him at our previous interviews, with reference to the possibility of getting beneficiaries, even if the tribes were removed, he says, "I cannot doubt, that, among the tribes, whether removed or not, beneficiaries will be found, who may be educated, like Dwight and Pierce, as teachers or otherwise, to the great benefit of their people. The advance of Indian civilization within ten or twelve years—the success of Osunkerhine in Canada, and the good conduct and promise of the beneficiaries more recently under my care, have given me a greater confidence in this respect than I had when my attention was first given to the subject."

Besides the three young men, to whom we have now more particularly referred, we saw the two Indian boys, Lewis Benedict and John Stenislaus, the former eight, and the other six years of age, who have been received from the Abernaquis tribe, and with the consent and concurrence of the Boston Board, have been placed by Dr Lord in a Christian family, in the neighbourhood of Hanover, till they are fit to go to school, which will now be very soon. It was stated in former reports of the Committee on this school, that at the time when it was considered scarcely possible to get young men to avail themselves of its advantages, it had been suggested by Dr Lord to take children; separating them from their tribes when so young as not to have imbibed the principles, and acquired the habits, of the people to whom they belonged, and placing them in Christian families, where, as Dr Lord, in his letter, expresses, "they would be pre-occupied with wholesome instruction in the rudiments of learning, and the useful arts and economy of common life, with a view to their better education at a more advanced stage, and their greater practical usefulness more ultimately to their own people." Of course, this is as yet only an experiment, the result of which cannot be known for some time. The boys seemed healthy and intelligent for their years, and answered distinctly the few questions we

put to them, but beyond this, of course, we could form no opinion.

It may not be considered prudent to hazard an opinion on what is as yet a mere matter of experiment, but it appears to us, that, when such young men as Dwight and Pierce can be procured, who may be more immediately, and consequently at much less expense, fitted for being brought into a field of usefulness, the fund would be more usefully applied in that way, than in bringing up mere children, before it can possibly be known what may be their capabilities of instruction, or their general temper and disposition. Besides, if one great reason for employing Indian in preference to White missionaries and teachers, is to be found in their necessarily more perfect knowledge of the language of the Indian tribes, it is obvious, that boys taken at so early an age will, in all probability, lose their native language, while, at the same time, they would be unknown to their respective tribes, and ignorant of their manners and customs, and thus an important advantage in favour of Native over White teachers be rendered unavailing. At the same time, as the experiment has commenced, we do not think it should be abandoned without a fair trial; and that, therefore, Dr Lord should be allowed to continue these two children on the fund, but directed to take no more at that age till the result of the present experiment is known, and until he receive farther instructions on the subject from the Society.

We cannot close this part of our Report without stating the great satisfaction we had at our interviews with the respected individual who now fills the situation of President of Dartmouth College, and Moore's School. Possessed of high literary attainments, and sound evangelical religious views, Dr Lord seems peculiarly qualified for the important office he now fills,—from the strong interest he takes in the religious as well as secular instruction of the young,—from his continued and parental superintendence, and the kindliness of his manner towards them. As President of Moore's School, and in reference to the Scotch fund under the charge of the So-

ciety, he is subjected to much anxiety and trouble, as it lies with him not only to seek out for, and recommend beneficiaries, but to watch over their conduct and manners, as well as their progress in education while attending the school, besides regulating their board, clothing, &c. The deep interest which he feels for the poor Indians, and his strong desire of civilizing and Christianizing them, leads him to undertake all this labour, from higher and nobler principles than a mere sense of official duty. It was by these motives that he was led to visit the Indians in Lower Canada, and with the same readiness would he have extended the visitation to other tribes should that have been considered necessary; while the manner in which the present beneficiaries looked up to and spoke of him, convinced us that they not only respected him as their superintendent and instructor, but loved him as their father and their friend. From all we heard, and all we saw, we believe that, at no time since the foundation of these institutions, have the duties of President been discharged with greater ability and fidelity, and that to no one could the Society with more confidence trust, for a faithful and judicious application of the fund under their management, or for a more fatherly and efficient superintendence of such Indian youths as may be placed under his care. It is with these views, and under these impressions, that we consider it peculiarly desirable, that, while the institution continues to enjoy the superintendence of such an individual, the Society should not withdraw their fund from it so long as beneficiaries can be procured to avail themselves of its advantages.

But while we thus mention the grounds upon which we were satisfied of the propriety of continuing to apply the funds, as heretofore, in educating Indian youths at Moore's School, we would also submit to the Society, as a matter well entitled to consideration, whether these funds should be applied exclusively to that school, or whether they might not, with great advantage in individual cases, be extended to assist some of their young men in prosecuting their studies farther, and in enabling them to acquire a greater degree of know-

ledge than they could attain at the school. In many, if not in most cases, the education received at the school may be quite sufficient for all that may be necessary for the beneficiary, and suitable to his capacity, or to his future prospects or occupation. But in such as show a superior capacity for learning, and a strong desire for farther attainments, and whose vigour of mind, as well as principles and dispositions, seem to afford fair promise of more extended future usefulness, as missionaries among their people, it might be well not to limit the sphere of that usefulness by restricting their education, and (as they have no means themselves of prosecuting it farther) obliging them to return to their tribes, with a limited degree of instruction, by no means commensurate with their talents and capacity of intellect, or their own more ardent desires. In such peculiar cases as those of Pierce, it might be of advantage to extend the benefit of the grant, so as to enable the beneficiary, when he has completed his education at school, to prosecute his studies by graduating at Dartmouth College. Here he would be under the same superintendence and direction as he had been at school, and he would receive the best advice from Dr Lord as to the classes he should attend, or the studies which he should follow out, and this we consider would be of great advantage to the young student. The experiment has been made in the case of Pierce, and has succeeded; and in similar cases, we would submit, that the same plan might be followed, as occasion may require, and where it may appear to afford a fair promise of success.

Nor does it appear to us that there is any thing in the original destination of the fund to prevent the Society from applying a portion of it occasionally in this way. The fund was raised for the education of native Indians, no doubt, in reference to this school, which had been established by Dr Wheelock. At that time Dartmouth College was not in existence—it emanated from the school, and was instituted for the purpose of carrying forward the education farther than could be done at the original seminary. In one sense,

accordingly, it may be considered as a branch of the original establishment founded by the same individual; and, therefore, while the fund is applied for the class of persons originally intended to be benefited thereby, viz. native Indians, it does not appear to be an illegitimate application of that fund to aid them in prosecuting their education as far as may be suited to their condition and abilities, and when doing so may serve to promote, more completely and successfully, the benevolent intentions of its founder. It is not a deviation from, but only a carrying forward of the Christian principles and objects of Dr Wheelock farther than what it may appear he had intended, in the circumstances in which he was then placed. Neither can we refrain from stating, in addition, that, after a careful perusal of all the original documents, and more particularly of a memoir of Dr Wheelock, published by his son, we are strongly impressed with the idea, that the foundation of a College was from the very first in his contemplation, although he did not state his views on the subject publicly, as these must have necessarily depended on the support which he got for his school. In evidence of this, it is scarcely necessary to go farther than the fact, that, although the collections in America and this country were made only for his private Indian School, commenced first at Lebanon, in Connecticut, yet as soon as he found, from the encouragement he received, that he would be able to extend the establishment, he took steps for that purpose. Not being able, however, to get sufficient ground at Lebanon, he, after many offers and applications from other quarters, fixed upon the present station, which was then part of the original forest, and having, under many difficulties, made a clearance, he commenced then not only the School, but also the College. The town of Hanover has risen from the first formation of this School and College in that place. This, along with what is stated in his after correspondence, leads, we think, to the conclusion, that it would be no deviation from the original constitution of the fund, or the intention of the original founder, to apply a portion of it, as circum-

stances may require, for enabling some of those who may have completed their education at Moore's School, so far as it can be carried on there, to prosecute their studies farther at the adjoining College, when it may appear, that their doing so is likely to render them more useful in promoting the civilization and Christianization of their countrymen.

We hope we shall not be considered as going beyond the proper limits of our mission in making this suggestion, and stating the views and grounds of our doing so. At all events, we feel that, when the point presented itself in so strong a view to ourselves, we were bound to submit it to the Society, satisfied that it will receive from them all that consideration which, in our humble opinion, it appears to merit.

We come now to the last proposed branch of our Report, viz. the present state and future prospects of the American Indians. We feel considerable difficulty in entering upon this subject;—it is one which, if considered in all its views and bearings, would lead to a detail far exceeding the proper limits of a Report like the present, and would involve a variety of topics which might not be considered as coming within the proper limits of the object of our inquiry. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, in the observations we have now to offer, to what we were eye-witnesses of, and to the information we received, in so far as these appear to us to bear upon the question, whether beneficiaries may be obtained for Moore's School, and in the event of these failing, in what manner the money may be most beneficially expended for the benefit of these Indians.

Upon this last point it may be proper to bring under the notice of the Society circumstances which came to our knowledge, and which may, probably, be of importance in enabling the Society to form a more just estimate of the Indian character, by exhibiting it in different views, and also under very difficult and trying circumstances. It is only by obtaining as accurate a knowledge of this as possible that the Society can rightly judge of the way in which they

should apply the means at their disposal, so as best to promote the benefit of the Indians, either at Moore's School or otherwise, as circumstances may render necessary, or most expedient. We cannot do this, however, without bringing forward, more prominently than we should otherwise have wished, the policy adopted by the government of the United States towards the Indians, and the treatment to which, from such policy, that unfortunate race has been subjected. We have no wish to step beyond the proper limits of our inquiry, merely for the purpose of exposing what appears to us the injustice of the American Government to the aboriginal proprietors of the soil, but we consider it necessary to advert to certain proceedings with reference to some of the Indian nations, as developing more fully the character, dispositions, and capabilities of the Indians, and the circumstances in which many of them have been removed from their former locations.

It may be remarked, in general, that the state of the Indians is now very different from what it was when Dr Wheelock formed his design, and commenced his labours for their conversion and civilization, upwards of 80 years ago. At that time the tribes were not only more numerous, but they were located much nearer, and some of them almost in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene where Dr Wheelock first established his Indian School. They were to be found in various of the States in New England, in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, &c., and also in New York and New Jersey. They seem to have been then very nearly, if not entirely, in their original and savage state, obtaining their livelihood by hunting—strangers to habits of industry and domestic economy —and ignorant even of the first elements of civilized life. This, however, is not the case now. The gradual but rapid extension of the White population has driven the Red man from his native locality. The clearance of many of the forests, and the improvement of the soil by the Whites, has destroyed or driven off the game, on which the Indians formerly chiefly depended. The Indian tribes have rapidly declined in population, while some of them have become entirely extinct. The ground

which they occupied is now possessed by the Whites. Their hunting-forests are converted into corn-fields, and such of the original natives as still remain within the limits of the United States, and are living in the immediate neighbourhood of the White population, have to a certain, although, in some cases, a very partial extent, acquired the customs of their White neighbours, and are gradually leaving off their original wandering habits, and betaking themselves to those of industry and civilized life.

The Iroquois Indians, or what are denominated the Six Nations, inhabit the western part of the State of New York, and have for a number of years enjoyed, under treaties with the American Government, certain portions of land, called "reservations." These Six Nations, forming the Ancient Confederacy, with the population and number of acres reserved to them, are as follows:—

	Population.	Acres of Land.
Senecas, . . .	2500	118,000
Oneidas, . . .	700	[illegible],000
Onondagas, . .	400	6,000
Tuscaroras, . .	300	6,920
Cayagas, . . .	250	none
Mohawks and St Regis,	700	10,000
	4850	135,920

The rapid progress of population has long since brought these tribes into immediate contact with the Whites, by whom they are now nearly surrounded. This is particularly the case with the Seneca Indians, whose reservation is about five miles from Buffalo, a city already containing a population of about 30,000, and which, as one of the great emporiums of the West, is rapidly increasing.

We visited the Senecas at their reservation, and here, instead of finding the Indians, as we expected, living by the chase, retaining much of their original unsettled habits, and strangers to the comforts of civilized life, we found that the example of civilized men around them had produced a corre-

sponding civilization among them; and that although still much inferior to the Whites, they have been making great and satisfactory progress, particularly, we were informed, within these last ten or twelve years. On our road from Buffalo to Seneca, we first met the Indian women or squaws, taking their eggs and butter to market, some of them carrying their infant children in baskets on their backs, and all of them respectably, although some of them rather fantastically, dressed. The Indian men, dressed in all respects like the Whites, and except in their peculiar features and complexion, hardly distinguishable from them, were driving their waggons with the produce of their farms, or riding on horses to market. We saw their fields under very respectable cultivation, and bearing good crops. They have exchanged their original rude wigwams for comfortable houses, with barns and offices attached to them, scarcely if at all inferior to those of the Whites, and some of the houses have little plots or gardens in front kept in good order. We stopped at a large inn by the road side, which had been built by an Indian chief, and which was then, or till within these few months had been, kept by him and his wife, and their education and acquirements, we learned, were with reference to their situation in life, by no means inferior to those of the Whites. All these marks of improvement surprised us; as we did not expect to meet with a state of such high comparative civilization, nor, do we believe, was it known, to its full extent, by many of those to whom we had previously applied for information. At all events, nothing had been said to us, to lead us at all to expect that we should find the Indians in that quarter so far advanced as they undoubtedly are.

There is here also a neat small church, in which Mr Asher Wright, one of the missionaries of the American Board of Missions, preaches every Sabbath, and which is well attended. Mr Wright, who has laboured here for some years, has a comfortable well-built manse. We shall afterwards state Mr Wright's opinion of the moral and intellectual condition of the Indians; at present we are describing only that of which we were eye-witnesses. Although, perhaps, the Senecas, from their more im-

mediate vicinity to Buffalo, may be the farthest advanced in point of civilization, yet the others have been satisfactorily progressing; and surely in all this there is much to encourage farther attempts still to civilize and Christianize them. They are in a state in which they would seem peculiarly well fitted for receiving and benefiting by the instructions of suitably educated teachers of their own people who might be sent among them, and for the preparing of whom Moore's School seems to be well adapted.

Without adverting particularly to different other tribes, in regard to whom we made inquiries in the course of our journey, we turn now to another Indian nation which we also visited, viz. the Lorette Indians, whose location is within nine miles of Quebec in Lower Canada. Here we found matters, with one exception, very much in the same situation as at Seneca. The houses are good, the lands well cultivated, and the people employed in useful industry. Nothing struck us more than the neatness and cleanliness of their houses. They contained, indeed, very few articles of furniture, and those of the most simple construction, but the apartments were clean and well aired.

On entering the first house we came to, we found an aged Indian reading, and, on looking at the book with which he was engaged, we saw it was the French Bible. In some of the other houses, the squaws and their families were employed in mending their clothes, and making mocassins and other articles, partly for their own use, but mostly for sale. Even very young girls were occupied in this way, while others were attending to the infant children. There was, on the whole, a pleasing appearance of domestic economy, industry, and even comfort.

We also visited the school, the teacher of which receives a salary from an annual sum granted by the province to the Indians, part of which is applied to educational purposes. The teacher is a very old man, very unable now to discharge his duties, which are performed by his son, who is expected to succeed him. The son is about 24 years of age, and is not

of pure blood. Indeed, few of the Indians in this quarter are so. They are exposed to the demoralizing influence of the Whites, particularly the French, of which mixed blood is one of the consequences. They speak the French language, the only one they understand. The teacher (the son) is a Roman Catholic, as they all are in this district. He had his cross and a string of beads tied round his neck.

There were only about 10 or 12 children attending the school at this time. The Bible and Testament in French, of the editions of the British and Foreign Bible Society, were the school books. We inquired if the priest knew or approved of these being thus used, and were told he paid no attention to the school. The present priest, indeed, had never entered it. Around the walls of the school-room were hung English tracts, with wood-cuts of the London Tract Society, and a few tracts in French. We heard the children read, which they did very well, upon the whole; but, as no attempt had been made to explain the words used, or to give them an explanation of the passage, they did not appear to understand much of what they were reading. We saw some specimens of writing, which were very fair.

We had a great deal of conversation with the son, who seemed to possess a considerable share of intelligence, but his information was limited, and his qualifications for teaching of a very moderate description. He expressed, however, a great desire for improvement, and stated, of his own accord, his willingness to go to any of the colleges in the United States for that purpose; and, on farther inquiry, he added, that his younger brother, who was at present attending the school at St John's, on the same foundation as this one, would also be willing to go to college, and perfect his education, provided his expenses were paid. Here also, as at Seneca, there seems to be no lack of encouragement for continuing the application of the Scotch fund to the education of Indian youths.

There is one difference, however, between the Seneca and the Lorette Indians. The latter are much in the power of the Roman Catholics, who have obtained complete influence

over them, and who, there can be little doubt, would exercise that influence in preventing the Indians from attending any Protestant school, much more so a school professing as one of its principal objects the communication of the Christian religion according to the Protestant faith. They are here, as every where else, extremely suspicious and jealous of any interference, and, it is believed, the priests would use every exertion to prevent the mothers, over whom they have most influence, from allowing their children to go to such a school. In these circumstances, it might be more difficult to procure beneficiaries from this locality, and great prudence might be required; but, surely, that is not a difficulty of so formidable a nature as to prevent Protestant Christians from making the attempt.

Such is the state in which we found these two nations of Indians, and it is believed they afford a fair specimen of several other tribes, although we had neither time nor opportunity of particularly visiting their several locations. They may not all have arrived at the same degree of civilization, yet they have all begun to improve, and are making fair progress, considering their situation and circumstances.

But, in addition to what we ourselves observed, we think it right to lay before the Society the opinions of others, who have had better opportunities of judging than we could lay claim to, from the cursory nature of our visit; and we may here mention, that, after having had full conversations with Dr Lord and others, on the subject of our mission, instead of trusting altogether to our own recollections of what had passed, we prepared a succession of queries suggested by the topics discussed, and laid these before the gentlemen we had met, in order to obtain the most exact information they could give on the different points brought under their consideration. These opinions we think it right to lay before the Society.

Dr Lord, who, it will be remembered, visited both the St Francis and Lorette Indians, when asked his opinion as to the present state of the Indians, remarks, in a letter which he wrote to us after our intercourse with him, "That they are generally improving, under the influence of advancing civiliza-

tion and Christianity. They cultivate to a considerable extent the useful arts of life—apprehend the division and rights of property—the principles of government—the importance of education and of Christian institutions. Churches and schools are formed among them through Missionary and other patronage, and many highly-gifted, enlightened Christian men and patriots have become distinguished among them." He adds, that "the Seneca, Oneida, and other tribes in the State of New York, (the Six Nations,) are advancing in civilization, and if allowed to remain in their present locations, there is every reasonable prospect of their receiving and being benefited by the instructions of missionaries and teachers. The Christian parties of these nations, which are considerable, are opening to all the good influences about them, and are resisting the bad. There would be great hope of their rapid amelioration, but for the attempts of the land companies to possess their respective territories. These attempts produce distraction and confusion among the Indians, and distrust among the Christians."

To the Rev. Asher Wright, who has been for some years Missionary among the Six Nations, and located, as already mentioned, among the Senecas, we also applied for his opinion as to the present condition of the Indians. We considered, indeed, that his opinion would be peculiarly valuable, from his having been so long in immediate contact with them, and from his being able thus to mark their progressive improvement. Mr Wright was kind enough to put down his answer in writing, and we shall quote his own words.

In reference to the general question regarding the present state of the Indians, he says: "I know not how to answer better than by saying they are in a transition state. None, or at least very few, are what their fathers were, while as yet few only have arrived at the degree of civilization, intelligence, and piety, common among enlightened Christian White men. It may almost be said at present they have no settled laws, habits, character, or location.

"1. Their religion is undergoing a great, and in some cases a

very rapid change. Some of every tribe remaining within the limits of the States, with possibly one or two exceptions, have embraced Christianity; yet in most cases that Christianity is tinctured more or less with their previous notions and superstitions. A single generation can hardly suffice for removing the impressions of bygone centuries from the popular mind, so that, whenever there is no direct clashing with Christianity, there will always be found a leaning in favour of early prejudices. We see much of this in our best Christians, and though in some of them it is but as a faint trace, like the tinge of complexion, which often descends to many generations, denoting the Indian origin when they have amalgamated with the Whites; in others it throws a deep shade over the piety, darkening and sometimes entirely concealing it. While we have thus almost every variety of Christian character, the gradations of change in their heathenism are no less various. Some few old people retain the remembrance of most of their ancient ceremonies, and appear to confide in them as the great means of rendering themselves acceptable to God. The great mass, however, of those who practise them, do it mainly for the sake of the sport and festivity intermingled with the whole; while many of the youth, and such as have come in contact for a considerable time with civilization and Christianity, have learned the folly of heathen rites, and in rejecting them have sunk into downright infidelity in respect to every thing that might wear the name of religion. The old pagan system has its code of morality, inculcating some degree of strictness in regularity of outward conduct. Those who have abandoned that system, without embracing the gospel, have generally sunk into the lowest depths of vice, and that, too, notwithstanding they may have received sufficient education to enable them to read and write the English language intelligibly. Such men, though they seldom labour on the Sabbath, generally congregate to spend the day in ball-playing, horse-racing, drinking, and gambling.

" 2. They are emerging from the barbarism of ages into civilization in its incipient stages, and some are already far

advanced. Few now attempt to subsist by hunting. Game is scarce, and the profit will not repay the expense and toil. Agriculture, and the sale of lumber, bark, &c. constitute their chief resources. In some sections many enrich themselves by rearing and selling cattle, horses, hogs, &c. Some have learned trades, and exhibit no small degree of skill in the easier mechanic arts; but the superior advantages of the Whites for prosecuting such sorts of labour in most cases furnish supplies to the Indians at a cheaper rate than can be afforded by their own artificers. Many of them, however, build for themselves comfortable houses and barns, and now very few old-fashioned wigwams can be found on their reservations: I hardly know where to find one among the Six Nations. Houses built of logs, but with floors, chimneys, and windows, are still very common; but even these are rapidly giving place to such as are built of the same materials used by the better class of White people, and constructed after the same fashion. The fear of being compelled to emigrate has greatly retarded improvement, but almost every person has made a little progress. —taken, at least, the preparatory steps; while many have adopted our habits of life so thoroughly, that little difference is perceptible between their whole system of arrangements and that of respectable farmers among the Whites. Could they be set free from all fear of removal, probably ten or fifteen years would see them rising in point of civilization to nearly the common level of the farming communities around them.

" 3. Nearly the same thing may be said of their mental culture and intelligence. Some few seem scarcely capable of stretching a thought beyond the present wants of the body, and are but a slight degree elevated above the beasts around them. From these, advancing upwards, we meet with every grade of intellect and attainment, till we arrive at those who have received a good academic education, and are able to bring a well-balanced and a well-informed mind into the service of the church and of their country. The number of those, however, is at present very small, and the great mass of the people are unable to read English with any profit,

while in their own languages few books have as yet been published.

" 4. In respect to their political state among themselves, they have a system of law, if it might be dignified with such an epithet, which was adapted to their situation before they knew the White man, and, in some few cases, very wisely adapted to it, but which is now leading them into constant difficulties, and their observance of it is fast yielding to the exigencies of their present state. Where they exist in small numbers, they prefer to be under the criminal jurisdiction of the state within whose bounds they dwell, still retaining the civil power in their own hands; but that civil power, as they wield it, is too often but little better than anarchy, though, perhaps, the term oligarchy would describe it more exactly. Their political relations with the Whites, under the system at present pursued by the United States Government, are such as leave them little hope of any other alternative but removal beyond the Mississippi, although many would prefer to remain, and become naturalized, as citizens of the United States, and very many are nearly prepared for such a change. The greatest bar in the way is their holding their lands in common, and, were the policy of our government changed, that would not long remain an obstacle."

Mr Wright farther adds, that the New York Indians were rapidly advancing in civilization, but this advancement has of late been retarded by the dread of government taking measures for their removal to other settlements. This dread is, of itself, sufficient to suspend the progress of improvement.

We may observe, that, so far as our own personal observations went, we found they coincided with the opinions we have here quoted.

The direct reference made in these communications to the probable removal of the Indians from their present reservations to far distant, and to them unknown settlements, naturally suggests the inquiry, to what causes this projected movement is to be ascribed; for that a people so far ad-

vanced in civilization as to possess cultivated farms, substantial dwelling-places, and the other comforts, which a knowledge of the useful arts supplies, and who had besides tasted the benefits of secular, and many of them of Christian instruction, should turn their backs on all these, and forsake their homes, and the graves of their fathers, for a residence they knew not where, was so contrary to all experience as almost necessarily to lead to the conviction, that it could not be their own voluntary act. We were, therefore, naturally led to inquire into the causes of this, and the result of extensive investigations we made on the subject is, that this projected removal does not originate with the Indians themselves. It is not their own wish, nor will they voluntarily consent to it. The quotations which have been already given from Pierce's address do not express merely his individual feelings and sentiments, but those of the Indians generally, who, anxious to remain on the land of their fathers, are about to be driven from it by the jealousy and cupidity of the Whites, and, we say it advisedly, by the cruel and unjust policy of the Government of the United States.

If, indeed, the removal had been of the Indians' own accord, originating in the restlessness of their disposition—in a decided aversion to civilized life, and a desire to return to their unsettled and wandering habits, then the prospects of doing them any good in the mode hitherto adopted would be dark, and the propriety of making farther attempts for their civilization and conversion very problematical. But if, on the other hand, their removal is not voluntary—if they still cling with fondness to the land of their fathers—if they lament over the losses which they must sustain—the privations to which they must be exposed, and the failure of all their anxious and upright endeavours to avert the fate with which they are threatened by the cruelty of their neighbours and the injustice of the government—if, above all, they deprecate being removed from the Christianizing influences which have so far been made to bear upon them, and the benefits derived from which they feelingly acknowledge, then it would

just be an additional motive to every Christian mind or association not to slacken, but increase, their exertions to prevent, as much as possible, that unhappy people from losing all the benefit of the instruction they have already received, and to provide for them still, even in their new and distant habitations, that Christian tuition which they have happily begun to appreciate. It was in this view, and because it may at some future period influence the disposal of the American Fund, that we considered it of importance distinctly to ascertain the causes of this contemplated removal of the Indians.

The result of all our inquiries and investigations is just this, that, so long as the Indians continued in their original uncultivated state, making no progress in civilization or the arts, they were disregarded by the Whites, and considered as a race far below their notice; but, so soon as an alteration in their manners and habits took place—when a new era dawned upon them—when they were betaking themselves to the habits of civilized life, and imitating the manners and customs of their more enlightened brethren, then the pride and jealousy of the Whites were aroused—they considered the Red man as encroaching upon their prerogative; and farther, when their waste and barren land began to assume the appearance of cultivation, producing good crops, and yielding fair prices, then also the cupidity of the Whites was excited, and they determined, by all means in their power, to remove the objects of their selfish jealousy to a far distant land, and to appropriate to themselves those possessions which had been made profitable by the industry and labour of the poor Indians.

But we would speak more in detail to facts; and it is here we find it necessary to advert more pointedly to the conduct of the Whites, and of the Government, towards the Indians, to show that the latter were not removed with their own consent, but that they were compelled to do so by the harsh and oppressive measures adopted by the former. The conduct of the Indians, in the proceedings to which we are now to refer —their ability and integrity in conducting their negotiations

with Government—their attachment to their native soil—the moderation, and, at the same time, firmness, with which they endeavour to maintain their rights—and their patience and forbearance under the most cruel sufferings, all serve to exhibit the Indian character in a point of view very different from what we expected, and place it in a much higher place in the scale of society than we believe is generally allotted to it; these appear to us to afford a decisive answer to the position too long maintained, that the Indian was not capable of receiving any substantial benefit from instruction and education, either as individuals or as a nation.

We select the case of the Cherokee Indians, whose removal took place very recently; and while we refer to a few circumstances in the history of that transaction, with which we made ourselves intimately acquainted, we think they will not only justify the conclusion at which we have arrived, but serve also as a general illustration of the measures hitherto adopted, and which may be expected to be adopted towards the other Indian nations.

The Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, had their reservations in the State of Georgia. Their territory was originally very extensive, and great portions of it were ceded, at different times, to the States by regular treaties with the Government. The Choctaws had been removed before the time to which we refer. They had previously attained a state of civilization greater, perhaps, than any other Indian nation, and this was just the cause of their being removed. The Cherokees were a more numerous body, and their territories were more extensive, while their chiefs were men of superior attainments, particularly their principal chief, John Ross, in whom the whole nation had complete confidence, and whose correspondence shows that he possessed a mind and talents of a very high order. But it may be proper to go back for a moment to the history of this nation, previous to the time to which we are now referring.

The Cherokees were the original owners and possessors of great portions of the country which now constitute a part of

the States of Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Before the American Revolution, they held their lands under the protection of Great Britain, and at the close of the war they still continued as a nation, and in possession of the same territory. The right which the governing power had was a right of pre-emption, in the event of the parties having the substantial interest being disposed to sell; and after the separation of the States from Great Britain, the right may have remained to each State, in regard to lands belonging to the Indians within their territory. But this right of pre-emption argues no power to compel the party possessing to sell, whether he is disposed to do so or not; much less does it give the party possessing it a title to fix the price, and to compel the possessor to accept of that price, however inadequate. This, at least, is the generally understood nature of a right of pre-emption; but the American Government, it will be seen, give it a different interpretation, and, under colour of it, not only compel the Indian to sell, but compel him to accept of any price they choose to offer.

By a treaty with the United States in 1791, called the Treaty of Holston, the Cherokees ceded a portion of their territory, and the boundaries of the reserved lands were, at the same time, fixed. By the seventh article of that treaty, "the United States solemnly guarantee to the Cherokee nation all their lands not hereby ceded." But notwithstanding this, treaties were made in 1798, and between that and 1819, under which the Cherokees ceded more of their possessions; and still, on each occasion, it was declared that no further encroachments were to be attempted. The treaty of 1819 was, in like manner, considered as a final arrangement. Such of the nation as were disposed to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, and to retain their original hunting habits, were provided for; those who preferred remaining, in order to pursue the arts of civilization, were to remain; property, which was held in common, was to be enjoyed in severalty; the limits of individual rights were to be fixed, and permanent interests to be held in land. Matters remained in

this state for several years, and the tribe, it was said, had rest for a season.

But the rapid progress of the Cherokees in civilization became offensive to the Georgians, while the improvement of the lands excited their cupidity. They, accordingly, asserted a right of sovereignty over the Indians. In 1827 the Georgian legislature passed a resolution, "That all lands appropriated and unappropriated, within the conventional limits of Georgia, belong to her absolutely; that the title is in her; that the Indians are tenants at her will; that she may, at any time she pleases, determine that tenancy by taking possession of the premises; and that Georgia has a right to extend her authority and laws over the whole territory, and to coerce obedience to them from all descriptions of people, be they White, Red, or Black, within her limits."

A favourable opportunity was seized on to pass this resolution so as to prevent any opposition on the part of Government. The canvass for the Presidency was then in active progress, and as five States were interested in the Indian territory, their influence was exerted in favour of the candidate who was known to be favourable to their views, and in whose election the contest terminated. Having thus declared her own rights, Georgia followed up the preceding resolution in 1829 by passing an act of legislature, abolishing the Cherokee nation; and in 1830 another act was passed, dividing the Indian lands among the citizens of Georgia, and ordaining the original possessors and lawful owners of these to remove beyond the Mississippi, where a location was provided for them. Against one and all of these acts the Cherokees frequently remonstrated, but without success. The answer made to them was, that they were in the power of the States, and must submit.

The Cherokees were unable to resist the mandate which was thus issued to them. Their removal was not a matter of choice but of necessity, and the only question then with their chiefs was, how to secure to their nation the best terms possible, and a reasonable sum as the value of their lands. On this point a long controversy took place. The sum offered

by the Government was not one-fourth of what the Indians considered they were entitled to receive. Commissioners were then sent by Government to treat with them, but the only acting one seems to have been most unfortunately selected, if it was intended that he should conciliate the Indians. A very small minority of the nation were for accepting the low offer made by Government, and that merely because they did not think they could make a better of it; but the great majority, indeed almost the entire nation, headed by their principal chief, John Ross, a man, as already stated, of superior talent, and with the manners and appearance of a European gentleman, were for rejecting that offer, and adhering to the terms which they had themselves proposed. Ultimately the two parties came to an understanding, and united in generally rejecting the Government offer as utterly disproportionate to the claims of the nation.

Government, however, were not to be so defeated. The Commissioner, quite satisfied that he could not obtain his object by open negotiation or fair and honourable means, had recourse to the most unfair practices, in which he had the concurrence, if not the direct instructions, of the Government. He issued a summons for a new council of the nation, to be held at New Echota, on 20th December 1835, concluding with the unauthorized intimation, that those who did not attend should be held as giving their sanction to whatever should be determined upon. In the meantime, however, Ross, the principal chief, had been forcibly arrested, and purposely removed out of the way, by the Georgian guard.

In pursuance of this summons, 300 Cherokees, men, women, and children, out of a population of 18,000, met at New Echota, and on the question being put, whether they would enter into negotiations with the Commissioner on the basis of the Government offer, the vote stood 79 ayes, 7 noes, a majority of the former being emigrant Indians who had no right to vote. Thus, with every advantage in his favour—the selection of time and place—the absence of Ross and the principal chiefs, the Commissioner, by threats and promises, could

not obtain one hundred votes against four thousand known by him to be opposed to his terms. A treaty was afterwards made with this minority, which was sanctioned by the Senate of the United States by a vote of 31 to 15.

Against this treaty the Cherokee nation protested, that they neither were nor could be bound by it—it was only the act of a miserable minority, not the act of the nation. The executive knowing well that the Indians would not acknowledge it, or voluntarily yield it obedience, resolved to enforce it at the point of the bayonet, and General Wool was ordered to march with an army into the country of the Cherokees, and enforce their removal. The unhappy Indians could only oppose a passive resistance. They met in council in September 1836, and their proceedings were signed by 2245 adult males. They "resolved that the said instrument (the treaty of New Echota) is null and void, and can never in justice be enforced upon our nation; and we do hereby solemnly disclaim, and utterly reject said instrument, in its principle and all its provisions." But all this availed nothing, and an appeal they made to the justice and humanity of the American central government was also in vain.

After a deaf ear had been turned by all the departments of government to their supplications, they, as a last resource, petitioned the House of Representatives of the United States, and this is the affecting appeal made to their humanity and their sympathy:

"On former occasions we have, in much detail, laid before you the prominent facts of our case. We have reminded you of our long and intimate connection with the United States—of the scenes of peril and difficulty which we have shared in common—of the friendship which had so long been generously proffered, and affectionately and gratefully accepted—of the aids which were supplied us in promoting our advancement in the arts of civilized life—of the political principles which we had imbibed—of the religious faith we have been taught—we have called your attention to the progress which, under your auspices, we have made—to the improvements

which have marked our social and individual state—our lands brought into cultivation—our natural resources developed—our farms, workshops, and factories, approximating in character and value to those of our brethren, whose example we had diligently imitated.

" A smooth and beautiful prospect of future advancement was opened before us. Our people had abandoned the pursuits, the habits, and the tastes of the savage, and had put on the vestments of civilization and intelligence, and of a pure religion. The progress we had made furnished us with the most assured hopes of continued improvement, and we indulged in the anticipation that the time was not far distant when we should be recognised on the footing of equality by the brethren from whom we had received all we were taught to prize.

" This promise of a golden sunshine is now overspread; clouds and darkness have obscured its brilliancy—the winds are beginning to mutter their awful forebodings—the tempest is gathering thick and heavy over our heads, and threatens to burst upon us with terrific energy and overwhelming ruin.

" In this season of calamity, where can we turn with hope or confidence? On all former occasions of peril or of doubt, the government of the United States spread over us its broad and paternal shield. It invited us to seek an asylum and a protection under its mighty arm—it assisted us with its encouragement and advice—it soothed us with its consoling assurances—it inspired us with hope—and gave us a feeling of confidence and security.

" But, alas! this long-cherished friend seems now to be alienated from us! This our father has raised his arm to inflict the hostile blow; this strength, so long our protection, is now exerted against us, and on the wide scene of existence no human aid is left us. Unless you avert your arm, we are destroyed. Unless your feelings of affection and compassion are once more awakened towards your destitute and despairing children, our annihilation is complete."

To this affecting appeal no attention was paid. Their

doom was sealed—resistance was no longer in their power, and nothing remained for them but to submit. The Cherokees had thus in vain made every attempt, without actually recurring to force, to avert the calamity with which they were threatened, for, that they did consider it a calamity, the above petition affords too strong evidence. But their conduct under the oppressive measures afterwards adopted against them is no less marked.

It might have been expected, that the great point being thus gained, government would not press their removal with unnecessary precipitancy, would allow them full time to make the necessary arrangements for their general departure from their native soil, and would have protected them in the meantime from farther injury and injustice. Such, however, was not the case; they were treated with the most unrelenting cruelty. Of this there is sufficient evidence under the hand of the general who commanded the force. He writes: "The whole scene, since I have been in this country, has been nothing but a heart-rending one, and such a one as I would be glad to get rid of, as soon as circumstances will permit." Again, in a subsequent dispatch, he says: "My command is daily becoming more difficult and intricate. The Georgians are impatient of restraint, and more difficult to manage. They are anxious to get possession of the lands of the Cherokees, and the latter are equally anxious to retain them. Daily, and almost hourly, complaints are made of some improper conduct of the White people. I have done much to correct abuses, still I find it impossible to correct them altogether."

In another letter, he says: "It is sufficient to say that the rights of these people have been too often disregarded—too often trampled upon, and too often violated without cause or justification, with impunity, not to have sunk deep into their hearts, and which, I have little doubt, will be made manifest in a most signal manner, before they finally take their departure, unless prevented by the most efficient and judicious measures. By these remarks I only intend to refer to the acts of

individuals who reside among them, and who seem bent on drenching this country with blood. Recent occurrences, which are but repetitions of those which have heretofore taken place, show plainly that it is in vain to appeal to the civil authorities of the country, to repress the disposition of the Whites to oppress this people and trample on their rights. In illustration I would refer to an aggravated case which occurred a few days since in the neighbourhood of this place. An Indian, at his own house, was shot down and basely murdered by a party of White men, who had not the least semblance of provocation, unless an attempt to escape from their barbarity be so considered. These men were arrested by my order, and immediately handed over to the civil authority, to be dealt with according to their deserts. But so strongly have the prejudices of the people, stimulated by avarice, been excited against the Indians, that it is exceedingly doubtful if justice can be done in this case. With these people, it really seems no crime to kill an Indian, but they do not look to the consequences. This circumstance, together with the daily efforts of the Whites to dispossess the Indians of their houses and lands, has created a state of feverish excitement, which it will be exceedingly difficult to repress, when the hour of their departure arrives."

We shall give only one quotation more. It is from a letter, written by two of the chiefs of the Cherokees, who had taken part with the minority, and is addressed to the President of the United States. It confirms the account given by General Wool.

"But we come now to address you on the subject of our griefs and afflictions from the acts of the White people. They have got our lands, and now they are preparing to fleece us of the money accruing from the treaty. We found our plantations taken either in whole or in part by the Georgians—suits instituted against us for back-rents of our own farms—these suits are commenced in the inferior courts with the evident design, that when we are ready to remove, to arrest our people, and on their vile claims to induce us to compro-

mise for our own release, to travel with our families. Thus our funds will be filched from our people, and we shall be compelled to leave our country as beggars, and in want.

"Even the Georgia laws, which deny us our oaths, are thrown aside, and notwithstanding the cries of our people, and protestations of our innocence, and our peace, the lowest class of the White people are flogging the Cherokees with cow-hides, hickories, and clubs. We are not safe in our houses—our people are assailed by day and night by the rabble—even justices of the peace and constables are concerned in this business. This barbarous treatment is not confined to men, but the women are stripped also, and whipped without law or mercy. You gave us at parting an excellent talk. We know that we are your friends. We now call upon you to interfere. Write to the Governor of Georgia, perhaps his proclamation may have some effect. But, above all, send regular troops to protect us from these lawless assaults, and to protect our people as they depart for the west. If it is not done, we shall carry off nothing but the scars of the lash on our hides, and our oppressors will get all the money. We talk plainly, as chiefs having property and life in danger, and we appeal to you for protection. The urgency of our condition will apologise for us in directly addressing you on this momentous subject."

Such were the circumstances in which the Cherokees were removed a few years ago, and it will not be surprising that, in such circumstances, their final removal may not have been exempt from some of those excesses or outrages on the part of some of them which are too often committed, even where there has been less provocation, and among a people more civilized. Treated as they had been—stripped of their rights—robbed of their possessions—their supplications disregarded, and driven from their homes, and the land of their fathers, it might have been expected that their savage nature would be roused, and lead them to avenge their wrongs against those by whom they were committed.

Although this has not been the case with respect to the tribe

generally, it has been fearfully exemplified in individual cases. By recent accounts received from the new location of the Cherokees, it appears that John Ridge, one of the chiefs, who formed part of the minority in the Echota treaty, has been barbarously murdered, and that another chief, Major Ridge, has also been pursued, and is supposed to have shared the same fate. These crimes have been committed by some of the lawless of the tribe, who attribute their removal to the share these chiefs had in the treaty which had been rejected by almost the whole nation. However little justified, or even palliated, the commission of such crimes can be, in any circumstances, yet they are only what were to be feared, from the provocation which had been received, and the character, temper, and passions of the Indians. It should have been the business of the American Government to conciliate, and not to irritate, a people, whom they were permitting to establish a separate government of their own; and had more prudent, not even to talk of more just measures, been resorted to, much of the irritation might have been prevented. It is not, however, from solitary instances like these that the character of all the nation is to be judged of.

With all these facts before us, we could come to no other opinion than the one we have already announced, as to the causes of the removal of the Indians, and these facts, we think, bear us out in our conclusions. No doubt, the American Government attempt to justify their conduct—the abstract right is not so much defended—but they say it is for the good of the Indians themselves—that they will be better and happier, and more comfortable, if removed to a distant quarter, where they can have a government of their own, without interference from other States.

It is farther alleged, that the Indian laws (or rather want of law) prevent a White man recovering a debt due to him; that crimes, such as murder, &c. are not punished by the Indians; and that, when an Indian is murdered by a White, they demand life for life, even that of an innocent person, if the murderer cannot be found, or is not given up. These, and such like statements, we believe to be in a great

degree without foundation, and are mere pretences to justify what can only be termed spoliation. Besides, provision had been made, for the redress of all such injuries, under the treaties, by which these reservations were solemnly secured to them. Thus, in the treaty of 1794, between the United States and the Six Nations, it is provided—"The United States and the Six Nations agree that, for injuries done by individuals, on either side, no private retaliation shall take place, but complaint should be made by the injured party to the other; that is, by the Six Nations, or any of them, to the President of the United States, and by or on behalf of the President to the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, or of the Nation to which the offender belongs." It ought never to be forgotten, that the Indian tribes are independent sovereignties, and they have ever been recognised as such by the American Government.

But it is not our wish to enter into any argument on the subject. All we have to do is with facts; and we think we have produced enough to show, that the removal of that tribe at least (and it is the same with all the others) was no voluntary act of the Indians—it was from no wish on their part to return to their original wandering and savage manners—it was from no aversion to the habits, and manners, and comforts of civilized life—so as to render hopeless any farther attempts to civilize and Christianize them. On the contrary, the conduct of these Indians, during the whole of these proceedings, was such as to show, that much good had resulted from what had already been done, and affords every encouragement for increased zeal in prosecuting the good work.

And with the example set before them of the Cherokees, which had been preceded by the same measures towards the Choctaws and the Creeks, what have the Senecas to expect? They have no hope to escape the doom which has already overtaken the other tribes. The treaty for their removal has commenced, and the result may now be considered as certain. As yet only 27 out of 90 chiefs have been brought to give their consent to it, but, as in the case of the Cherokees, the

mere want of consent by the majority will not be available; although they may for a season delay their removal, and may endeavour to make more favourable terms, yet they will not be able to offer any effectual resistance to the influence that is brought against them. From the moment their removal was hinted at, their exertions seemed to be paralyzed, and a stop has been put to their progress in improvement, which was so rapidly going on; nor can they be certain, even when they get to their new location, that they will be permitted to remain there. When the tide of White population moves farther west, the same arguments and the same means may be used again to make way for them by removing the poor Indians.

But although the removal of these Indians to the west of the Mississippi must for a season retard their progress in civilization, it does not necessarily follow that it will thereby be completely checked. They will not entirely lose the benefits they had previously received—having arrived at a certain degree of civilization before they were removed—having been led in a great measure to lay aside their wandering and hunting habits—having been made to experience somewhat of the comforts of civilized life—having betaken themselves, in a greater or less degree, to industry and domestic economy—and seeing the benefits that result from a well ordered state of society, and, above all, having had their eyes and their hearts opened to the blessings of the Christian religion, it is to be expected that these will not be entirely lost—that the Indians will not, upon their removal, return to their original unsettled and savage manners, but carrying with them the experience they have already acquired, they will still advance, although, perhaps, at a slower rate, in industry, good order, and civilization.

This has already been remarkably the case with the Choctaws, in regard to whom an account lately published says—"They are improving in civilization—their houses and fields indicate a good degree of industry—many of them have large farms—they own much live stock—are pretty well supplied with farming utensils. They have three flour-

ing mills, two cotton gins, 88 looms, and 220 spinning wheels—they have thirteen native merchants, &c." The account goes on to say,—"The best evidence of the improving condition of the Choctaws is seen in an entire change in their government, which they have effected from the barbarous to the civilized. The system of chieftaincies has been abolished. The tribe denominates itself the Choctaw nation—it has adopted a written constitution of government similar to the constitution of the United States. Their declaration of rights secures to all equal privileges, liberty of conscience, excluding all religious tests—it secures trial by jury; and, in a word, it provides for all that is felt necessary in the incipient stages of political existence.

"Their country is divided into four judicial districts.—Three of these districts annually elect by popular vote, each nine of the members of the National Council, and the fourth elects by the same mode thirteen members, in all forty. These are allowed three dollars a-day while engaged in legislating. Within each district an officer, denominated a chief, is elected for the term of four years. The National Council meets annually on the first Monday in October. It consists of forty members, the necessary clerks, a light horseman, (sergeant at arms,) and door-keeper. It is also attended by the chiefs, who have an honorary seat provided for them by the side of the speaker, but they have no voice in debate in council. Their signatures are necessary to the passing of a law. They may veto an act, but it may become a law by the concurrence of two-thirds of the Council notwithstanding. The Council is styled the General Council of the Choctaw Nation. It adopts by-laws for its government while in session. It elects a speaker and other requisite officers, and appoints committees to prepare matters for legislation. All writings are in English, but are read off in the Choctaw language. All discussions are carried on in the Choctaw language. Each member, when about to speak, rises, and respectfully addresses the speaker, using the Choctaw word for speaker, adding the syllable *ma*, which nearly corresponds with the English Mr or

Sir. The question is put in the form customary in legislative bodies, and the vote is given by rising."—" Three judges are elected by the people in each district, who hold inferior and superior courts within their district," &c.

This is, perhaps, the first instance among the aboriginal tribes of America of the adoption of a form of government, entirely divested of the barbarous customs which belong to the savage state, and is the result of the previous information which they had received, and the degree of civilization which they had attained before they were removed; so that, in regard to this Indian nation at least, the evils which were so much dreaded as the necessary consequences of removal have not occurred, and the partial check that must, during their removal, have been given to their progress, seems to have stimulated them to a more active exercise of their talents, so soon as they got fairly settled in their new location. It is to be hoped that other nations, upon being removed, may be induced to follow the example which has thus been set to them by their Choctaw brethren.

The history of the present state of the Choctaws gives a different and still higher view of the Indian character than even the preceding statement in regard to the Cherokees. They have not only shown patience and forbearance under privations and suffering; but through the energy of their character as a nation, they have risen above their calamities. They have not sat down in sullen moroseness brooding over their misfortunes, or scheming vengeance against the authors of them; but, stimulated by what they had seen among their more civilized brethren, they, with the most laudable industry and energy, adopted those measures which they considered best calculated to promote the good order of society, and the comfort and happiness of the nation.

As the main object of this branch of the Report was to show, so far as we could ascertain, the present state of the Indian tribes, we have been led into a longer detail with regard to these two nations than, in other circumstances, might have been necessary; but we hope that, from those details,

with what we ourselves personally witnessed, the Society will be able to form some estimate of the Indian character, and the situation and circumstances in which these Indian nations are at present placed.

It may next be asked, what effect the removal of these Indian tribes to so great a distance will have upon the practicability of getting beneficiaries for Moore's School.

When the Six Nations are removed to the "far west," it will, no doubt, be more difficult to obtain from them beneficiaries for Moore's School, not only from the increased distance, but the consequent greater expense of the journey. These difficulties, however, may be overcome. One of the most promising beneficiaries at the school at present is a Choctaw Indian, whose tribe was removed a few years ago, which shows the practicability of getting beneficiaries from them—and, in regard to the expense—that may be provided for by keeping vacancies, as they occur, open for a time, in order to allow a fund to accumulate for meeting such additional charges.

But whatever may be the ultimate fate of the United States Indians, the Canadian Indians are, at all events, not exposed to similar calamities. The most perfect contrast exists between the conduct of Great Britain and that of the United States to the Indians in their respective territories. In Canada, the Indians are regarded as the wards of Government, by whom they are protected, and their reservations absolutely secured to them; and not only is a special department of Government appointed to watch over their interests, but an annual sum of L.50,000 is expended in presents, such as blankets, farming utensils, &c., while part of this is also appropriated for the purposes of education. Accordingly, from the Canadian tribes beneficiaries may be got for Moore's School. No doubt, there may be a difficulty, from their being all Roman Catholics, and much under the influence of the priests; but that influence is not paramount; and, from what we learned, Indians would send their children to a Protestant school where the teacher is superior to the Roman Catholic one, and where they could be taught higher branches, as mathematics, surveying, land-measuring, &c. One youth and two boys, indeed, have already been re-

ceived from the St Francis tribe, so that, upon the whole, we cannot see any thing so discouraging at present, as to prevent the Society continuing to apply the money as formerly, or to render it necessary for them to turn it into a different channel.

Neither is it to be kept out of view, that the Indians are at this moment in a much more fit state to receive instruction and education than at any previous period of their history. This appears from the detail that has already been given. They have, in a greater or a less degree, given up their wandering and savage habits. They have experienced somewhat of the comforts of civilized life. They have seen the benefits that result from education, and they are more anxious that they and their children should share in these benefits. And thus, while, on the one hand, a beneficiary who returns to his tribe, after completing his education at this school, is not exposed to the same danger nor to the same temptation of reverting to his previous habits; on the other hand, his people will be more willing to receive him. They are more able to appreciate, and therefore more likely to respect the superior knowledge which he has acquired, and will be more ready to put their children and themselves under his tuition. From this better prepared state of society among the Indian tribes, we think it may fairly be anticipated, that much more good will now result, from the proper education of Indian youths, and the influence of their example among their own tribes, than has hitherto been the case.

Before concluding, there is one other topic to which we think it necessary to refer.

Among the various queries we put, for the purpose of obtaining every possible information, one was, Whether White or Native teachers and missionaries were likely to carry with them greater weight, and be more useful among the tribes? This point we considered of importance as bearing upon the question, whether more good might not be done by bringing up young men not Indians at this school, and training them for becoming teachers or missionaries to the Indians? This was an object which Dr Wheelock from the first seems to have

had in view. The united testimony of all those whom we consulted on this subject seems to be, that, while each possesses advantages peculiarly his own, the greatest good may be expected from the joint labours of one of each class.

Dr Lord gave it as his opinion, that " natives have the advantage in point of knowledge of language, manners, associations, &c., and in point of sympathy, tact, and confidence. Whites, in superior general knowlege, wisdom, prudence, and the respect growing out of these considerations. Probably a joint force would be best."

Mr Greene says, " Each class has some advantages, but if one must be had without the other, I should prefer the White teacher to the Indian in all common cases. The only serious and permanent difficulty, in the way of the former, is his defective knowledge of the language of the tribes. Where the language is easy of acquisition, this need not embarrass him long. But the latter is, with very few exceptions, lacking in judgment, enterprise, and force of character, having little enlargement of mind, or weight of character, or wisdom to plan or carry forward a course of measures. The two classes may be advantageously combined, and where a wise course is pursued, this generally will be done. With few exceptions, White teachers are more respected, and exert more influence. Some few Indians, rare examples, distinguished by their intellectual powers, and their goodness, are known to have exerted great influence, and have been as much respected as any White man could hope to be; but generally, native teachers depend on the White missionary with whom they are associated for their respectability and influence, and if he should be withdrawn, their labours would be of little avail, and their characters and opinions little regarded."

Mr Greene farther informed us, that, while the language of some of the Indian tribes is comparatively easy, others, and the greater number of them, are extremely difficult, having completely baffled all the attempts of the most distinguished philologists in America, and that compared to them even the Chinese language was nothing.

Mr Asher Wright, missionary to the Six Nations, says, "It would be hard to decide who are best fitted for the work, Natives or Whites. We have had too little native help, and what we have had has been too poorly qualified to admit of our answering the question from experience. Most of the Indian languages are extremely difficult. I have not known any White man to preach in any language of the Six Nations except myself, and I cannot do it without the aid of an interpreter in writing sermons. Still I am told, that several White men have spoken the Seneca language well enough for all practical purposes, and I should suppose, that, with the aid of books now in a state of preparation, a good scholar might acquire it in three or four years, so as to reach the heart and conscience in the use of it. Could Indian preachers be so educated as to feel the force of truth, and understand all the minutiæ of Christian duty, as well as thoroughly educated White ministers, they would doubtless possess some important advantages, inasmuch as they would be familiar with the modes of thought, the habits and customs of the people, and would be able to allay prejudice, and gain access to the affections, while the best of White men would fail to do so. Hitherto White men, whom they believed true-hearted friends, have been more respected, because they have seen no Indians equally qualified for the work. But the people have received such treatment from many pretended friends, that they are now jealous of every one till after long and thorough experience of their friendship. The right sort of man, if such could be found among the Indians, might be expected to have greater influence than any White man, but the difficulty lies in obtaining such a man; still I think every effort should be made to raise up such men among them. Until a sufficient number can be found, it will always be desirable to have a competent number of Whites employed to furnish the whole mass of the people with instruction, both in science and religion. As fast as Indians are qualified, they should be associated with the Whites, and made to bear their part in all the responsibilities of the work; but I should doubt the expe-

diency of so dividing the labour, that the teachers should be all Indians, and the preachers all White men. It would seem to me far preferable, that Indians should, if possible, be prepared to take their share in each department, and the sooner this is done, the sooner will they be able to sustain among themselves all the institutions of civilization and Christianity without extraneous aid."

To the opinions of these Reverend Gentlemen, with the means of observation they were possessed of, we do not consider it necessary to add any observations of our own. Our opinion concurs with those above quoted, that the most efficient agency for enlightening and civilizing the Indians would be the joint operation of a Native and a White, when these could be procured, possessing all the necessary qualifications, and co-operating cordially in the same work. The difficulty of procuring the Whites is great, more particularly from the diversity of the languages, some of which it seems almost impossible to acquire. But, however correct the above views may be, they only remotely, not immediately, apply to the particular object of our inquiry, provided the Society should agree with us in opinion as to the propriety, if not the obligation, in the circumstances we have stated, of continuing the application of the fund to the education of native Indians at this particular School.

In one respect, however, the general bearing of the above information may be of importance, viz. in the selection of the tribes from which beneficiaries may be chosen. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have embraced a most extensive field of operation; few Missionary Societies, if any, have done so much in prosecuting the missionary cause, and the reports of its proceedings afford the most gratifying intelligence of success. One of the scenes of their labours is in the various tribes of the Indians, among whom several missionaries are now labouring, and to their influence and instructions may be traced much of the change that has taken place among that class of our fellow-creatures, and the advances they have made in Christian knowledge, and in general civilization.

Accordingly, through the missionaries sent out by the American Board, the Society may look for obtaining suitable young natives for the School; and it may be well for those, with whom the recommendation must mainly rest, to have regard to the above circumstances, and endeavour to select individuals from those tribes where the labours of a White missionary might be afterwards greatly assisted by the co-operation of a native teacher, and the full effect of their joint labours brought to bear upon the Indians in the most efficient way.

We have now stated all the information which we received on the points into which it was remitted to us to inquire. Feeling the deep responsibility which necessarily attached to us, we could not but regret that others, much better qualified, had been prevented from undertaking the duty, which they would have discharged in a far more satisfactory manner.

It was with great diffidence, and with no little anxiety, that we complied with the wish of the Directors to visit America, lest, from any failure on our part, the object of our mission might not be attained. We have endeavoured, however, to do our duty to the best of our ability, and have diligently examined every source open to us, from which information could be obtained on the subject of our inquiry; and the result we now, with all respect, beg leave to lay before the Society. We regret that our Report has extended to so great a length, but we considered it our duty to state not merely our own conclusions, but the grounds on which we had arrived at them, that the Society may be able to judge for themselves, how far these conclusions were warranted by the facts from which they were drawn.

We cannot, however, close our Report without, in the most unqualified and grateful terms, acknowledging the kind manner in which we were in all quarters received; the personal attention we experienced—the ready and willing assistance we every where met with in prosecuting our inquiries, and the high respect that was expressed for the Society in whose service we were engaged. As individuals, we will ever retain a

grateful recollection of the reception we met with in America; and we would hope that our visit there may have, in some measure, created an increased interest in behalf of the unfortunate Indians, may facilitate our future communications with America, in reference to this particular fund, and may enable the Society, from the information now laid before them, to proceed with greater confidence in the discharge of the duty entrusted to them, and administer the fund placed at their disposal in the manner that may best promote the glory of God, and the best interests of that too long neglected, but interesting portion of our fellow-creatures.

All which is humbly reported by

JNO. TAWSE.
GEO. LYON.

EDINBURGH, *Oct.* 23, 1839.

APPENDIX.

ADDRESS *on the present Condition and Prospects of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of North America, with particular reference to the Seneca Nation.*—By M. B. PIERCE, a Chief of the Seneca Nation, and a Member of Dartmouth College.

THE condition and circumstances of the race of people of whom I am by blood *one*, and in the well-being of whom I am, by the ties of kindred and the common feelings of humanity, deeply interested, sufficiently apologise, and tell the reason for my seeking this occasion of appearing before this audience, in this city. Not only the eyes and attention of *you*, our neighbours—but also of the councils of this great nation, are turned upon us. We are expected to do, or to refuse to do, what the councils of this nation and many private men are now asking of us—what many favour and advocate—yet also what many discountenance and condemn.

My relation to my kindred people being as you are aware it is, I have thought it not improper—rather that it was highly *proper*—that I should appear before you in my own person and character in behalf of my people and myself, to present some facts, and views, and reasons, which must necessarily have a material bearing upon our decisions and doings at the present juncture of our affairs.

Hitherto our cause has been advocated almost exclusively, though ably and humanely, by the friends of human right and human weal, belonging by *nature* to a different, and by *circumstances* and *education*, to a superior race of men. The ability and humanity of its advocates, however, does not do away the expediency, nor even the *necessity* of those of us who can, standing forth with our own pen and voices, in behalf of that *same right* and *that same weal* as connected with ourselves, which have been and now are by a powerful, and perhaps *fatal* agency, almost fatally jeopardized.

It has been said and reiterated so frequently as to have obtained the familiarity of household words, that it *is the doom* of the Indian to disappear—to vanish like the morning dew—before the advance of civilization; and melancholy is it to us—those doomed ones—that the history of this country, in respect *to us* and its civilization, has furnished so much ground for the saying, and for giving credence to it.

But *whence* and why are we thus doomed? Why must we be crushed by the arm of civilization, or the requiem of our race be chanted by the waves of the Pacific which is destined to engulf us?

It has been so long and so often said, as to have gained general credence, that our *natural constitution* is such as to render us incapable of apprehending and incompetent to practise upon those principles from which result the *characteristic* qualities of Christian civilization, and so, by a necessary consequence, under the sanction of acknowledged principles of moral law, we must yield ourselves sacrifices, doomed by the constitution which the Almighty has made for us, to that *other race* of human beings, whom the same Almighty has endowed with a more noble and more worthy constitution.

These are the premises: these the arguments: these the conclusions: and if they are *true*, and *just*, and *legitimate*, in the language of the Poet, we must say—

> "God of the just—thou gavest the bitter cup,
> We bow to thy behest, and drink it up."

But are they *true*, and *just*, and *legitimate*? Do we, as a people, lack the capacity of apprehending and appreciating any of the principles which form the basis of Christian civilization? *Do we lack* the competency of practising upon those principles in any or *all their* varieties of application?

A general reference to facts, as they are recorded in the history of the former days of our existence, and as they now are transpiring before the eyes of the whole enlightened world, give an answer which should ever stifle the question, and redeem us from the stigma.

Before citing particular exemplifications of the truth of this, I will allude to one question which is triumphantly asked by those who adopt the doctrine of the untameable nature of the Indian, viz. Why have not the Indians become civilized and Christianized as a consequence of their intercourse with the Whites—and of the exertions of the Whites to bring about so desirable a result? Who that believes the susceptibilities and passions of human nature to be in the main uniform throughout the rational species, needs an answer to this question from me?

Recur to the page which records the dealings both in manner and substance of the early White settlers and of their successors, down even to the present day, with the unlettered and unwary Red man, and then recur to the susceptibilities of your own bosom, and the question is answered.

Say ye, on whom the sun light of civilization and Christianity has constantly shone—into whose lap Fortune has poured her brimful horn, so that you are enjoying the *highest*, and *best spiritual* and *temporal* blessings of this world—say, if some beings from Fairy-land, or some distant planet, should come to you in such a manner as to cause you to deem them children of *greater light* and *superior wisdom* to yourselves, and you should open to them the hospitality of your dwellings and the *fruits* of your *labour*, and they should, by dint of their *superior wisdom*, dazzle and amaze you, so as for what to them were *toys and rattles* they should gain freer admission and fuller welcome, till finally they should claim the *right* to your possessions, and of hunting you, like wild beasts, from your long and hitherto undisputed domain, how ready would *you* be to be taught of *them*?—How cordially would you open your *minds* to the conviction that they meant not to deceive you *further* and still more fatally in their proffers of pretended kindness?

How much of the kindliness of friendship for them, and of esteem for their manners and customs, would *you feel*? Would not "the milk of human kindness" in your breasts be turned to the gall of hatred towards them?

And have not *we*, the original and undisputed possessors of this country, been treated *worse* than *you* would be, should my supposed case be transformed to reality?

But I will leave the consideration of this point for the present, by saying, what I believe every person who hears me will assent to, that the manner in which the Whites have habitually dealt with the Indians make them *wonder* that their hatred has not burned with tenfold fury against them, rather than that they have not laid aside their own peculiar notions and habits, and adopted those of their civilized neighbours.

Having said thus much as to the question, "Why have not the Indians been civilized and Christianized by the intercourse and efforts of the Whites?" I would now call your attention to a brief exemplification of the point I was remarking upon before alluding to the above-mentioned question, viz. "That the Indian is capable of apprehending and appreciating, and is competent to practise on those principles which form the basis of Christian civilization."

I do not know that it has ever been questioned, and especially by those who have had the best opportunities to learn by *experience and observation*, that the Indian possesses as perfect a physical constitution as the Whites, or any other race of men—especially in the matter of hardy body, swift foot, sharp and true eye, accompanied by a hand that scarcely ever drew the bow-string amiss, or raised the tomahawk in vain.

I believe also that it is not denied that he is susceptible of *hatred*—and equally of friendship—that he even can love and pity, and feel gratitude—that he is prone to adoration of the Great Spirit—that he possesses an imagination, by which he pictures fields of the blessed in a purer and more glorious world than this; that he possesses the faculty of memory and judgment, and such a

combination of faculties as enabled him to invent and imitate: that he is susceptible of ambition, emulation, pride, vanity; that he is sensitive to honour and disgrace; and necessarily has the *elements* of a *moral sense* or conscience. All these are granted as entering into his *native spiritual constitution.*

For instances of those *natural endowments*, which, by *cultivation*, give to the children of civilization their great names and far-reaching fame, call to mind Philip of Mount Hope, whose consummate talents and skill made him the White man's terror, by his display of those talents and skill for the White man's destruction.

Call to mind Tecumseh, by an undeserved association with whose name, one of the great men of your nation has obtained more of greatness than he ever merited, either for his *deeds* or his *character.* Call to mind *Red Jacket*, formerly your *neighbour*, with some of you a friend and a familiar, of the same tribe with whom I have the honour to be a *humble member:* to have been a *friend* and *familiar* with whom none of you feel it a *disgrace.* Call to mind Osceola, the victim of the White man's treachery and cruelty, whom neither his enemy's cunning or arm could conquer on the battle field, and who at last was consumed "in durance vile," by the corroding of his own spirit. "In durance vile," I say, (blot the fact from the records of that *damning baseness*, of that violation of *all law*, of all humanity, which that page of your nation's history, which contains an account of it, must ever be—*blot out the fact*, I say, before you rise up to call an Indian treacherous or cruel.) Call to mind *these* and a thousand others, whom I have not time to mention, and my point is gained.

Here then the fundamental elements of the best estate of human nature are admitted as existing in the natural constitution of the Indian. The question now comes, Are these elements susceptible of cultivation and improvement, so as to entitle their possessors to the rank which civilization and Christianity bestow?

For an instance of active pity, of *deep, rational, active* pity, and the attendant intellectual qualities, I ask you to call to mind the story-*surpassing-romance* of Pocahontas; she who threw herself between a supposed inimical stranger, and the deadly club which had been raised, by the stern edict of her stern father—she begged for the victim's life—she obtained his deliverance from the jaws of death by appealing to the affections which existed in the bosom of her father, savage as he was, and which affections overcame the fell intent which had caused him to pronounce the White man's doom. From this time she received the instruction, imbibed the principles and sentiments, adopted the manners and customs of the Whites; in her bosom burned *purely and rationally* the flame of love, in accordance with the promptings of which she offered herself at the hymeneal altar, to take the nuptial ties with a son of Christian England. The offspring of this marriage have been, *with pride*, claimed as *sons* and citizens of the noble and venerable State of Virginia.

Ye who love prayer, hover in your imagination around the cot of Brown, and listen to the strong supplications as they arise from the fervent heart of Catherine, and then tell me whether "the poor Indian, whose untutored mind sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind," is not capable, by cultivation, of rationally comprehending the *true God*, whose pavilion, though it be the *clouds*, still giveth grace even *to the humble*.

But perhaps I am indulging too much in minuteness. Let me then refer to one more instance which covers the whole ground, and sets the point under consideration beyond dispute. The ill-starred Cherokees stand forth in colours of living light, redeeming the Indian character from the foul aspersions that it is not susceptible of civilization and Christianization. In most of the arts which characterize civilized life, this nation, in the aggregate, have made rapid and long advances. The arts of peace, in all their varieties, on which depend the comforts and enjoyments of the enlightened, have been practised, and the results enjoyed by them. The light of revelation has beamed in upon their souls, and caused them to exchange the blind worship of the Great Spirit for the rational worship and service of the God of the Bible. Schools have been established; an alphabet of the language invented by one of their own men; instruction sought and imparted; and letters cultivated in their own as well as the English language.

Hence many individuals have advanced even to the refinements of civilized life, both in respect to their physical and intellectual condition. A John Ross stands before American people in a character both of intellect and heart, which many of the White men in high places may *envy*, yet *never be* able *to attain*. A scholar, a patriot, an honest and honourable man; standing up before the "powers that be," in the eyes of Heaven and men, now demanding, now supplicating of those powers a regard for the right of humanity, of justice, of law —is still a scholar, a patriot, an honest and honourable man; though an Indian blood coursing in his veins, and an Indian colour giving hue to his complexion, dooms him, and his children and kin, to be hunted at the point of the bayonet by those powers, from their home, and possessions, and country, to the "Terra incognita" beyond the Mississippi.

I now leave this point, on which perhaps I need not to have spoken, thus briefly, from the fact that it is granted by all of you as soon as announced, and proceed to make a few remarks confined more exclusively to my own kindred tribe, a part of whom live near this city.

Taking it as clearly true that the Indians are susceptible of cultivation and improvement, even to the degree of physical, intellectual, and moral refinement, which confers the title of civilized and Christianized, I now proceed to consider whether their condition and feelings are such as to render feasible the undertaking to bring them up to *that degree*—whether, in fact, they do not themselves *desire* to come up to it. When I say *they*, I mean those who constitute the body and stamina of the people. As to this point, I take it upon

myself to say that such an undertaking *is* feasible, and doubly so from the fact, that the object of the undertaking is earnestly desired by themselves.

I know of no way to set this matter in a clearer light than by presenting you with some facts as to the spirit and the advance of improvements amongst them. And this I crave the liberty of doing by a brief detail of items, prefacing the detail by the remark of a highly respectable individual formerly of Holland, Erie Co., but for some eighteen years a resident of Illinois. After an absence of about fifteen years, he returned two or three years ago, and spent the summer in this region, and several days of the time on the Reservation. He frequently remarked that the Indians, during his absence, had improved far more rapidly than their neighbours in the country around them.

In business there is much greater diligence and industry; their teams in respect to oxen, horses, waggons, sleighs, &c., are greater in number, and better in quality, than formerly, and in these respects there is a constant improvement. The men labour more, comparatively, and the women less, except in their appropriate sphere, than formerly.

With regard to buildings, they are much more conveniently planned, and of the best materials, both dwelling-houses and barns, and new ones constantly going up. Those who have not lands of their own under cultivation are much more willing to hire out their services to others, either by the year or by shares. This shows that the idea, "to work is thought to be dishonourable," has been done away. There are amongst us good mowers, and cradlers, and reapers. Blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, and other mechanics, find work enough for their own brethren. There are several waggons in the nation which are worth more than one hundred dollars in cash; tools of the best quality and of various kinds; manure and other things are sometimes applied, but five years ago, almost or quite universally wasted.

With regard to mode of living, tables, chairs, and bedsteads, and cooking apparatus, have generally been purchased of the Whites, or manufactured in imitation of them, and they are used to a greater or less extent in almost every family. The habit of taking regular meals is gaining ground, and the provision luxurious. The care of the sick; they are more attentive and judicious, and rely less on notions and quackery; they employ skilful physicians, and use the medicine with less prejudice, and a great deal more confidence.

Other evidences of improvement we have in the increase of industry, and a consequent advance in dress, furniture, and all the comforts and conveniences of civilized life. The fields of the Indians have never been kept in so good order, and managed with so much industry, as for the few years past; at public meetings and other large assemblies, the Indians appear comfortably, and decently, and some of them richly clad. The population is increasing gradually, except when visited with epidemics. The increase of general information is visible; there are many of them who keep themselves well informed of what is going on in the country; several newspapers have been taken from the cities

of Washington, D. C. Philadelphia, New York, and other cities in the Union, and two or three copies of the Genesee Farmer. Some young men have a choice selection of books and libraries. All these improvements are advancing at a rapid rate, *except when* they are *distracted with other cares* and *anxieties*.

In view of *these* facts, I deem it unnecessary to say any thing farther, as to the question, whether or not the undertaking is feasible to bring the Senecas up to the standard which shall entitle them to be called civilized and Christianized.

The only question which I shall now consider, included in the subject I am treating, is, *how* can this undertaking be carried into operation most advantageously for securing its ultimate object?

Can it be by remaining where we now are located, or by selling our lands, and removing to the afore-mentioned "Terra incognita?" The right and possession of our lands is undisputed—so with us it is a question appealing directly *to our interest;* and how stands the matter in relation *to that?* Our lands are as fertile and as well situated for agricultural pursuits as any we shall get by a removal. The graves of our fathers, and mothers, and kin, are here, and about them still cling our affections and memories. Here is the theatre on which our tribe has thus far acted its parts in the drama of its existence, and about it are wreathed the associations which ever bind the human affections to the soil, whereon one's nation, and kindred, and self, have arisen and acted. We are here situated in the midst of facilities for physical, intellectual, and moral improvement; we are in the midst of the enlightened; we see their ways and their works, and can thus profit by their example. We can avail ourselves of their implements, and wares, and merchandise; and, once having learned the convenience of using them, we shall be led to deem them indispensable. We here are more in the way of instruction from teachers, having greater facilities for getting up and sustaining schools; and as we, in the progress of our improvement, may come to feel the want, and the usefulness of books and prints, so we shall be able readily and cheaply to get whatever we may choose. In this view of facts, surely, there is no inducement for removing.

But let us look at the other side of the question. In the first place, the White man wants our land; in the next place, it is said that the offer for it is liberal; in the next place, that we shall be better off to remove from the vicinity of the Whites, and settle in the neighbourhood of our fellow Red men, where the woods flock with game, and the streams abound with fishes. These are the reasons offered and urged in favour of our removal.

Let us consider each of these reasons a little in detail. The fact that the Whites want our land imposes no obligation on us to sell it, nor does it hold forth an inducement to do so, unless it leads them to offer a price equal its value to us. We neither know nor feel any debt of gratitude which we owe

to them in consequence of their "loving kindness or tender mercies" towards us, that should cause us to make a sacrifice of our property or our interest, to their wonted avarice, and which, like the mother of the horse-leech, cries Give, give, and is never sated.

And is the offer liberal? Of that who but ourselves are to be the final judges? If we do not deem one or two dollars an acre liberal for the land, which will, to the White man's pocket, bring fifteen to fifty, I don't know that we can be held heinously criminal for our opinion. It is well known, that those who are anxious to purchase our reservations, calculate safely on fifteen dollars the acre for the poorest, and, by gradation, up to fifty and more for the other qualities. By what mode of calculation or rules of judgment is one or two dollars a liberal offer to us, when many times that sum would be only fair to the avarice of the land speculator? Since in us is vested a perfect title to the land, I know not why we may not, when we wish, dispose of it at such prices as we may see fit to agree upon.

"But the land company have the right of purchase," it is said—granted: but they have not the right, nor, we trust in God, the power, to force us to accept of their offers. And when that company finds that a whistle or a rattle, or one dollar or two per acre, will not induce us to part with our lands, is it not in the nature of things that they should offer better and more attractive terms? If they could not make forty-nine dollars on a acre of land, I know no reason why they would fail of trying to make forty-five, or thirty, or ten. So, I see no obstacle to our selling, when and at such reasonable prices as we may wish, in the *fact* that the land company have the right of purchase: nor do I see any thing extortionate in us, in an unwillingness to part with our soil on the terms offered—nor even in *the desire*, if our lands are sold, of putting into our *own* pockets a due portion of their value.

But the point of chief importance is, shall we be better off? If our object was to return to the manners and pursuits of life which characterized our ancestors, and we could be put in a *safe, unmolested,* and *durable* possession of a wilderness of game, whose streams abound in fish, we might be better off; but though that were our object, I deny that we could possess *such a territory* this side of the shores of the Pacific, with *safety, free of molestation,* and in *perpetuity.*

"Westward the Star of Empire takes its way," and whenever that empire is held by the White man, nothing is safe, or unmolested, or enduring against his avidity for gain. Population is, with rapid strides, going beyond the Mississippi, and even casting its eye with longing gaze for the woody peaks of the Rocky Mountains—nay, even for the surf-beaten shore of the Western Ocean. And, in process of time, will not our territory there be as subject to the wants of the Whites as that which we now occupy is? Shall we not then be as strongly solicited, and by the same arguments, to remove still farther west? But there is one condition of a removal which must certainly render it hazardous in the

extreme to us. The proximity of our then situation to that of other and more warlike tribes, will expose us to constant harassing by them; and not only this, but the character of those worse than Indians, those *White borderers*, who infest, yes *infest*, the western border of the White population, will annoy us more fatally than even the Indians themselves. Surrounded thus by the natives of the soil, and hunted by such a class of Whites, who neither "fear God nor regard man," how shall we be better off there than where we now are?

Having said thus much as to our condition after a removal, under the supposition that we wish to return to and continue in the habits of life which prevailed when the country was first taken possession of by the Europeans, I proceed now to say, that we do not wish so to do; and to repeat, that, so far from it, we desire to renounce those habits of mind and body, and adopt in their stead those habits and feelings—those modes of living, and acting, and thinking, which result from the cultivation and enlightening of the moral and intellectual faculties of man. And on this point I need not insult your common sense, by endeavouring to show that it is *stupid folly* to suppose that a removal from our present location to the western wilds would improve our condition. What! leave a fertile and somewhat improved soil—a home in the midst of civilization and Christianity, where the very breezes are redolent of improvement and exaltation—where, by induction as it were, we must be pervaded by the spirit of enterprise—where books, and preaching, and conversation, and business, and conduct, whose influence we need, are all around us; so that we have but to stretch forth our hands, and open our ears, and turn our eyes to experience in full their improving and enlightening effects. Leave these! and for what? and echo answers *for what?* But methinks I hear the echo followed by the anxious guileful whisper of some government land company agent—for one or two dollars the acre, and a western wilderness beyond the White man's reach, where an Eden lies in all its freshness of beauty for you to possess and enjoy. But ours, I reply, is sufficiently an Eden now, if but the emissaries of the arch-fiend, not so much in the form of a serpent as of man, can be kept from its borders.

But I will relieve your patience by closing my remarks. It were perhaps needless, perhaps useless, for me to appear before you with these remarks, feebly and hastily prepared as they were: but, as I intimated on the outset, the crisis which has now arrived in the affairs of our people furnish the apology and reason for my so doing. And now, I ask, what feature of our condition is there which should induce us to leave our present location, and seek another in the western wilds? Does justice, does humanity, does religion, in their relations to us, demand it? Does the interest and well-being of the Whites require it? The plainest dictates of common sense and common honesty answer, *No!* I ask, then, in behalf of the New York Indians and myself, that our White brethren will not urge us to do that which justice, humanity, religion, not only do not require, but condemn. I ask, then, to let us live on where our fathers

have lived—let us enjoy the advantages which our location affords us: that thus we, who have been converted heathen, may be made meet for that inheritance which the *Father* hath promised to give to his *Son*, our Saviour: so that the deserts and waste places may be made to blossom like the rose, and the inhabitants thereof utter forth the high praises of our God.'

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